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EXDIS

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SUBJECT: ACTING SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER'S MEETING WITH
SWEDISH SECRETARY GENERAL LEIF LEIFLAND, DECEMBER 29

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1. SUMMARY: DURING A 40-MINUTE MEETING WITH ACTING
SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER, SWEDISH MFA SECRETARY GENERAL
WAS MOST INTERESTED IN RECEIVING AN EXPLANATION OF HOW
THE US APPLIED ITS HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY IN INTERNATIONAL
FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS. OTHER SUBJECTS INCLUDED: THE
RECENTLY CONCLUDED UNGA WHERE BOTH AGREED THAT US AND
SWEDIS. DELEGATIONS HAD WORKED VERY WELL TOGETHER;
THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP; US-SWEDISH RELATIONS (NO PROBLEMS --
RELATIONS ARE EXCELLENT). END SUMMARY.

2. UNGA: THE ACTING SECRETARY SAID THAT IT WAS HIS UNDERSTANDING THAT THE US AND SWEDEN WORKED TOGETHER VERY WELL DURING THE JUST CONCLUDED UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY. HE THOUGHT THAT OUR TWO COUNTRIES WERE CLOSER TOGETHER NOW THAN IN PAST YEARS ON A BROAD RANGE OF ISSUES AND HE CITED AFRICA AS ONE EXAMPLE.

LEIFLAND AGREED RECALLING THAT AMBASSADOR ANDREW YOUNG HAD RECENTLY BEEN IN STOCKHOLM AND THAT IT WAS CLEAR

FROM THEIR CONVERSATIONS WITH HIM THAT WE SAW EYE-TO-EYE ON A NUMBER OF SUBJECTS. BOTH THE ACTING SECRETARY AND LEIFLAND AGREED THAT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY BEEN A SUCCESSFUL ONE. THE ACTING SECRETARY SAID EARLIEREVENTS AT THE UNITED NATIONS, IN PARTICULAR, SOME OF THE PAST RHETORIC THERE HAD ERODED PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE UNITED NATIONS. HOWEVER, A GENERAL ASSEMBLY SUCH AS THE ONE WHICH HAD JUST CONCLUDED WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO RESTORING SOME PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE UN. LEIFLAND SAID SWEDEN HAD SIMILAR CONCERNS ABOUT DIMINISHED PUBLIC SUPPORT IN SWEDEN FOR THE UN AND FOR THE SAME REASONS.

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3. THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP: THE ACTING SECRETARY SAID HE HAD BEEN AT THE WHITE HOUSE BRIGHT AND EARLY THIS MORNING TO SEE THE PRESIDENT, THE SECRETARY AND DR. BRZEZINSKI OFF. IN ADDITION TO THE ORIGINAL REASONS FOR THE TRIP THERE WERE NOW TWO NEW DIMENSIONS: FIRST, THE FACT THAT THE ENERGY BILL HAD NOT PASSED BUT REMAINS PENDING. THE TRIP MAY PROVIDE THE PRESIDENT MORE OPPORTUNITIES TO EMPHASIZE PUBLICLY TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ENERGY BILL AND OF THE US ADOPTING ENERGY CONSERVATION MEASURES THAN MIGHT OTHERWISE HAVE BEEN AVAILABLE, IF HE WERE STILL IN WASHINGTON. THE SECOND NEW DIMENSION IS THAT WE ARE ENTERING A CRUCIAL TIME IN THE MIDDLE EAST. HIS MEETING WITH KING HUSSEIN IN TEHRAN WOULD IN ITSELF BE SUFFICIENT JUSTIFICATION FOR THE PRESIDENT TO UNDERTAKE THE PRESENT JOURNEY.

4. US-SWEDISH RELATIONS: LEIFLAND SAID THAT FROM STOCKHOLM'S POINT OF VIEW THERE ARE VERY FEW IF ANY PROBLEMS IN THEIR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US -- THAT US-SWEDISH RELATIONS ARE EXCELLENT. THERE WERE A FEW ECONOMIC PROBLEMS BUT THEY WERE NOT OF SUFFICIENT IMPORTANCE FOR HIM TO TAKE THE TIME TO RAISE THEM WITH MR. CHRISTOPHER. RATHER, HE WOULD PREFER TO HAVE AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH THE ACTING SECRETARY ON THE US HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY AND HOW THIS POLICY IS IMPLEMENTED BY THE US IN THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS (IFIS).

5. HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE IFIS: LEIFLAND THOUGHT THAT BOTH THE USG AND THE GOS FACED SIMILAR PROBLEMS IN TRYING TO FORMULATE POLICY GUIDELINES FOR POSITIONS TO BE TAKEN IN THE IFIS. THE SWEDES HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE AS YET TO COME EFFECTIVELY TO GRIPS WITH THIS PROBLEM. HE WAS INTERESTED IN HEARING FROM MR. CHRISTOPHER HOW FAR WE HAVE GONE IN COMING TO GRIPS WITH THIS PROBLEM AND WHAT OUR EXPERIENCE HAS BEEN.

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THE ACTING SECRETARY SAID OUR APPROACH TO THIS PROBLEM CENTERS AROUND TWO WORDS: CALIBRATED AND SEQUENTIAL. WHEN WE IDENTIFIED A COUNTRY WHICH HAS A HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM WE DID NOT START WITH PROPOSING ECONOMIC SANCTIONS. RATHER WE WOULD PREFER TO START WITH DIPLOMATIC CONTACT AT A LEVEL WHICH WOULD BE COMFORTABLE FOR BOTH SIDES. THUS, WE WOULD INITIALLY MAKE KNOWN OUR CONCERNS EITHER AT THE AMBASSADOR-FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL IN THE FOREIGN CAPITAL OR AT THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY-AMBASSADOR LEVEL IN WASHINGTON. IF THE PROBLEM WAS SERIOUS ENOUGH OR IF THESE INITIAL CONTACTS WERE NOT SATISFACTORY THEN WE WOULD CONSIDER AN APPROACH EITHER BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE OR BY THE PRESIDENT. BUT WE PREFERRED TO TEST THESE CUSTOMARY AVENUES FIRST BEFORE MOVING ON TO HARSHER MEASURES. WE ALSO TRY TO BE POSITIVE RATHER THAN NEGATIVE IN OUR APPROACH AND WE ACCOMPLISH THIS BY TRYING TO GIVE PRIORITY IN OUR AID PROGRAMS TO THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE GOOD HUMAN RIGHTS RECORDS. WE PREFER TO USE BILATERAL INSTRUMENTS TO ACHIEVE OUR HUMAN RIGHTS GOALS SO AS NOT TO PUT TOO MUCH STRESS ON INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS. HOWEVER, OUR AID PROGRAM IS A DIFFICULT TOOL TO USE. THE ACTING SECRETARY SAID HE WOULD EXPAND ON THIS DILEMMA BY FIRST DESCRIBING HOW WE CONSIDER HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS. WE CONSIDER THERE ARE THREE CATEGORIES OF HUMAN RIGHTS: THE FIRST CATEGORY IS THE RIGHT OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO BE SECURE IN HIS BODY, E.G., TO BE FREE FROM UNLAWFUL OR INHUMANE IMPRISONMENT; THE SECOND CATEGORY IS FREEDOM FROM WANT, E.G., THE ECONOMIC NEEDS OF THE INDIVIDUAL; AND THE THIRD CATEGORY IS POLITICAL AND SOCIAL RIGHTS, E.G., THE SO-CALLED CIVIL LIBERTIES. WHAT MAKES OUR AID PROGRAM A HARD TOOL TO USE IS THAT

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IT IS DIRECTED PRIMARILY TO THE SECOND CATEGORY OF HUMAN RIGHTS -- THE ECONOMIC NEEDS OF PEOPLE. THEREFORE, IT WOULD TAKE A VERY SERIOUS HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM BEFORE WE WOULD CUT OUT AID AIMED AT HELPING THE NEEDIEST PEOPLE IN ANY GIVEN COUNTRY.

AS FOR OUR APPROACH IN THE IFIS IT IS DETERMINED BY TWO FACTORS: FIRST, ADMINISTRATION POLICY AND SECONDLY, THE STATUTORY STRUCTURE ENACTED BY CONGRESS. THE CONGRESS REQUIRES US BY LAW TO OPPOSE ANY LOANS IN ANY OF THE IFIS TO COUNTRIES WHICH ARE GROSS AND CONSISTENT VIOLATORS OF HUMAN RIGHTS EXCEPT FOR LOANS AIMED PRIMARILY AT HELPING THE VERY NEEDIEST PEOPLE. THE CONGRESS HAS EMPHASIZED THE FIRST CATEGORY OF HUMAN RIGHTS. IT IS DIFFICULT FOR THE ADMINISTRATION TO VOTE FOR A LOAN FOR A COUNTRY WHICH

HAS BEEN HOLDING 10,000 PEOPLE IN JAIL FOR SOME TIME WITHOUT TRIAL. IT WOULD REQUIRE US TO MAKE A CONCLUSIVE FINDING OF THE "NEEDIEST" REQUIREMENT. WHEREAS OUR AID PROGRAM IS PRINCIPALLY DESIGNED TO HELP THE NEEDIEST, THE IFIS FREQUENTLY ARE CONSIDERING LOANS DIRECTED AT INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS. FOR EXAMPLE, WHILE WE MIGHT OPPOSE A LOAN FOR AID TO A STEEL MILL IN A COUNTRY WITH A HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM WE WOULD AT LEAST CONSIDER VOTING FOR A LOAN FOR A WATER SUPPLY SYSTEM.

CONTINUING, THE ACTING SECRETARY SAID THAT IN CONSIDERING ANY IFI LOAN THE ADMINISTRATION HAS TO DETERMINE WHETHER THE RECIPIENT COUNTRY IS OR IS NOT A GROSS AND CONSISTENT VIOLATOR OF RECOGNIZABLE HUMAN RIGHTS INCLUDING WHETHER THERE IS WIDESPREAD DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL. IF THE RECIPIENT COUNTRY IS A GROSS AND CONSISTENT VIOLATOR THEN WE HAVE TO DETERMINE CONCLUSIVELY WHETHER THE PROJECT IS DIRECTED TO BASIC
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HUMAN NEEDS. IF THE PROJECT DOES NOT MEET THIS REQUIREMENT THEN WE ARE OBLIGED TO ABSTAIN OR VOTE NO. WE TRY TO TALK TO THE COUNTRY BEFORE WE VOTE NEGATIVELY. THIS IS THE SEQUENTIAL ASPECT OF OUR POLICY. THE CALIBRATED PART OF OUR POLICY IS TO TRY TO ABSTAIN ON A LOAN FOR A GIVEN RECIPIENT COUNTRY BEFORE WE WOULD VOTE NO AND IF WE DECIDE TO VOTE NO WE WOULD DO SO WHERE IT WOULD NOT BE DECISIVE, I.E., OUR NEGATIVE VOTE WOULD NOT VETO THE PROJECT. AT THE SAME TIME WE MUST REMEMBER THAT IT IS THE CONGRESS WHICH APPROPRIATES MONEY FOR THE US FINANCIAL PARTICIPATION IN THE IFIS. OUR WORRY IS THAT IF A NUMBER OF IFI LOANS ARE APPROVED OVER OUR OBJECTION OR ABSTENTION THE CONGRESS MAY QUESTION THE DESIRABILITY OF CONTINUED US FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF THE IFIS. THEREFORE WE ARE TRYING TO INFLUENCE THE BANKS TO EMPHASIZE PROJECTS WHICH MEET BASIC HUMAN NEEDS IN COUNTRIES WHERE HUMAN RIGHTS ARE VIOLATED SO THAT WE WILL NOT BE PUT IN THE POSITION OF OPPOSING LOANS. WE ALSO HAVE TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT OTHER FOREIGN

POLICY INTERESTS, I.E., IF WE KNOW THAT A COUNTRY IS ABOUT TO TAKE ACTIONS IMPROVING HUMAN RIGHTS THEN WE MIGHT ABSTAIN OR VOTE AFFIRMATIVELY RATHER THAN VOTE NO. THE ACTING SECRETARY ASKED ABOUT SWEDEN'S EXPERIENCE.

MR. DINKELSPIEL SAID THEIR EXPERIENCE HAS BEEN PRIMARILY AT THE INTERAMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK (IDB). HE EXPLAINED THAT THE SWEDISH PARLIAMENT, IN AUTHORIZING SWEDISH MEMBERSHIP IN THE IDB, HAD SAID THAT SWEDEN'S PARTICIPATION SHOULD BE AIMED AT SUPPORTING ECONOMIC

DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRACY. IN GENERAL, SWEDEN'S POSITION IN THE IDB HAS BEEN SIMILAR TO THE US, I.E., SWEDEN OPPOSED IDB LOANS FOR CHILE AND ARGENTINA
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AND ITS REASONING WAS SIMILAR TO THAT OF THE US. SWEDISH EXPERIENCE HAS BEEN THAT IF YOU CAST A NEGATIVE VOTE BUT DO NOT MAKE AN EXPLANATION OF YOUR VOTE, THERE USUALLY IS LITTLE OR NO PROBLEM BUT IF YOU EXPLAIN THE REASON FOR VOTING NO WAS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS CONSIDERATIONS THEN THERE USUALLY IS A SHARP REACTION.

THE ACTING SECRETARY SAID THAT OUR PREFERRED PRACTICE WOULD BE THAT BEFORE WE MAKE AN EXPLANATION OF A NEGATIVE VOTE IN AN IFI WE WOULD GO TO THE COUNTRY AFFECTED TO EXPLAIN PRIVATELY THE REASONS FOR OUR VOTE. THUS THE FIRST TIME WE CAST A NEGATIVE VOTE, WE PROBABLY WOULD EXPLAIN THE VOTE PRIVATELY BUT IF HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEMS PERSISTED WE WOULD MAKE PUBLIC EXPLANATION FOR SUBSEQUENT OPPOSING VOTES. COUNTRIES MAY BE ANNOYED OR IRRITATED BY THIS PROCEDURE BUT NONETHELESS WE THINK THAT IT MAY ALSO HAVE A POSITIVE AFFECT ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN THESE COUNTRIES.

MR. DINKELSPIEL WONDERED HOW WE GOT AROUND THE LANGUAGE WHICH SAID THAT NO POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS SHOULD AFFECT POSITIONS TAKEN ON LOAN APPLICATIONS.

THE ACTING SECRETARY SAID THAT WE HAVE SIMPLY TAKEN THE POSITION THAT HUMAN RIGHTS CONSIDERATIONS ARE VALID AND THAT WE ARE SATISFIED THAT THIS IS A LEGITIMATE POLICY POSITION FROM A LEGAL STANDPOINT. WE NEED TO MULTILATERALIZE THE HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM. AT FIRST WE FOUND OURSELVES ALONE IN THE IFIS ON THIS ISSUE BUT NOW WE WELCOME SWEDEN'S SUPPORT. WE WOULD BE PLEASED TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH SWEDEN.

LEIFLAND ACCEPTED THE ACTING SECRETARY'S SUGGESTION AND SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD BE HAPPY TO SEND SOMEONE TO WASHINGTON OR WOULD WELCOME AMERICAN OFFICIALS IN STOCKHOLM. HE THOUGHT WE WOULD HAVE

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AN EARLY OPPORTUNITY TO COLLABORATE AT THE UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION MEETING IN GENEVA. HE RECALLED THAT THE NORDIC COUNTRIES HAD TAKEN THE INITIATIVE AT THE UNGA ON A RESOLUTION ON UGANDA. UNFORTUNATELY, IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO GET THIS RESOLUTION TO A VOTE. RATHER THE RESULT WAS A WATERED-DOWN VERSION WHICH REFERRED THE QUESTION TO THE FORTHCOMING UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION MEETING IN GENEVA. SWEDEN WILL BE REPRESENTING THE FIVE NORDIC COUNTRIES AT THIS MEETING

AND IT MAY WISH TO APPROACH THE US BEFORE THIS MEETING IN ORDER TO COMPARE NOTES. SWEDEN NEEDS MORE INFORMATION ON THE ACTUAL SITUATION IN UGANDA AND DOES NOT WANT TO SIT DOWN IN GENEVA WITHOUT A GOOD FILE ON UGANDA. PART OF THE PROBLEM IS THAT SWEDEN HAS NO EMBASSY IN UGANDA.

THE ACTING SECRETARY SAID THAT WE WOULD BE GLAD TO WORK WITH SWEDEN. EVEN THOUGH WE DON'T HAVE AN EMBASSY THERE, WE DO GET REPORTS FROM THE BRITISH, DUTCH AND GERMANS. WE HAVE TAKEN CERTAIN STEPS TO REFLECT OUR CONCERN ABOUT THE ABSENCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN UGANDA, E.G., WE HAVE ADOPTED A MORE RESTRICTIVE VISA POLICY AND WE ALSO ARE RESTRICTING THE TRAINING OF ANY UGANDAN SECURITY PERSONNEL IN THE US. WE ALSO ARE PROHIBITING THE EXPORT OF ANY US MATERIALS FOR USE BY UGANDAN SECURITY PERSONNEL. HOWEVER, THERE ARE A NUMBER OF AMERICAN CITIZENS LIVING IN UGANDA WHICH COMPLICATES TO SOME EXTENT WHAT WE CAN DO.

TO A QUESTION ABOUT ANY CHANGE IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CHILE, THE ACTING SECRETARY SAID WE DO NOT DETECT SUBSTANTIAL IMPROVEMENT. ANY CHANGES THAT HAVE BEEN MADE THERE SEEM TO BE LARGELY COSMETIC. HE DESCRIBED THE FORTHCOMING REFERENDUM AS A CONTRIVANCE.

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NOR ARE WE VERY MUCH ENCOURAGED BY DEVELOPMENTS IN ARGENTINA EITHER EVEN THOUGH WE WELCOMED THE RECENT RELEASE OF 389 POLITICAL PRISONERS. HOWEVER, WE ARE SOMEWHAT MORE HOPEFUL ABOUT THE SITUATION IMPROVING IN ARGENTINA THAN WE ARE IN CHILE.

6. ACCOMPANYING LEIFLAND WERE: MFA DIRECTOR FOR NORTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS NIELSEN; EMBASSY ECONOMIC COUNSELOR DINKELSPIEL; POLITICAL COUNSELOR BERGQUIST. EUR/NE DIRECTOR FUNSETH WAS ALSO PRESENT. CHRISTOPHER

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